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ABSTRACT

This document presents information from a study of research called Lives of Service, a collection of case studies of 32 altruistic adults. It begins with a review of the research on altruism, service orientation, giving, helpfulness, social responsibility, and voluntarism. Research on altruism in psychology and in other disciplines is included, along with studies of altruistic children and adolescents. Anthropological observations of altruism among children in primitive cultures are discussed, and research on birth order and altruism in large families is examined. The Lives of Service sample is described and the influence on altruism of childhood work, family helping, caring for younger children, teenage office holding, volunteer work, and church involvement is briefly examined. The overall adult life-situation, kinds of altruistic activity, varieties of altruistic careers, and community-organizational volunteer work are described. Two case histories are presented to illustrate modes of giving, and to demonstrate antecedents of altruism. New causes and antecedents suggested by the Lives of Service case histories are discussed. Finally, the community organization of volunteer work is considered, incentives other than altruism for volunteering are examined, altruism on-the-job is described, and strategic problems which altruistic persons can encounter are discussed. (NRB)

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AERA ROUNDTABLE:

CASE STUDIES OF ALTRUISTIC PERSONS

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STEPHENS

AERA ROUNDTABLE: CASE STUDIES OF ALTRUISTIC PERSONS.

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April 1985

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I'd like to present to you here, in informal fashion, my first attempted write-up of what I call my LIVES OF SERVICE research--case studies of thirty-two persons, some collected by me, others gathered by my students. Where these case studies fit in--in the total picture of research on the origins of altruism--is, first of all, they are of <u>older</u> persons. Previous research has all been on children and adolescents; various supposed antecedents have been, in the past, correlated with child-personality indices of altruism. The present study was begun, in hopes of seeing how a few of these childhood antecedents held up, in predicting altruism in adults. As a matter of fact this did not turn out very well. However I am still happy with this research, and I hope to continue in this vein for some time. The case-study research method gives up so much, in the way of rigor--puts aside measurement itself--that perhaps it does not even deserve to be called a research method at all. But when an investigator looks up, from his nearsighted preoccupation with correlating pairs of variables; when he looks at life-stories and applies some of the life-history concepts--the perspective certainly changes. One has the feeling, at least, of having gained a great deal of understanding. Overall life-patterns seem to emerge; life-situation determinants stand out; the persons in the sample sort themselves into types.

I am going to lead up to these adults' case studies by quickly reviewing everything that has gone before: the research on altruism within psychology; and briefer lines of research in other disciplines; the discoveries by Marian Radke Yarrow and Carolyn Zahn-Waxler, and by Bossard and Boll, and by the Whitings; and my own previous work--case studies of, mainly, teenagers, and the life-situations they find themselves in, and what seems to be required, to start a young person on a life-path of service. Anyone wishing to bypass this long preamble or any part of it: feel free to do so. The topic headings should guide you to the starting-place of your choice.

<u>Traditions of research on altruism, service-orientation, giving, helpfulness, social responsibility, voluntarism (and such terms.)</u>

This is mainly within the realm of psychology; and much of it has been subject to periodic literature reviews. (Staub 1979, Perry and Bussey 1984, Rushton and Sorrentino 1981.)

What is left out of these reviews is: anthropologists' field reports of children's work (which have a bearing on this, as we shall see); research on the effects (if any) of doing volunteer work; and research on the effects--on teenagers--of being in service-learning school programs. I will return to these later; first, the mainstream tradition of research, as reviewed by Irvin Staub, Perry and Bussey, & company.

The typical psychological study is a little "experiment," on children; something like sharing a toy with another child is taken to stand for altruism (yes or no, high or low), the consequent variable. Various possible experimental manipulations, things like sex-of-experimenter, perhaps parent-interview data, and demographic facts about the child such as age and sex, and whom the child is interacting with, become the possible antecedents. Some findings: having nurturant parents predisposes toward altruism; as does having parents who, on some self-report, score high on altruism too. Girls are more altruistic than are boys; older children more than younger children; and the older siblings in a family are more altruistic than the younger ones. (Or more "responsible," or more "nurturant" or "helpful;" the terms vary.) The situation matters. Shift a child around, in various playgroups, and the degree of "responsibleness" (or whatever) of his behavior varies. When he is one of the older children in the group he tends to act more responsibly; when one of the younger, he becomes less responsible. Give a child some kind of responsible role, in a situation, and sure enough he tends to act more responsibly: put him "in charge," he acts more responsibly. (Staub 1979:102, 116, 191-216.) (Perry and Bussey 1984)

Does this wavering back and forth between terms -- altruism, responsibility -- bother you? That's the way it is, I'm afraid. What we have is a seamless continuum of acts, "measures," indices, with no clear boundaries dividing the province of Altruism from the zone of Responsibility or Nurturance. The literature reviews, such as Staub's, speak of "pro-social behavior" or "positive social behavior." This is a broad zone of acts, predispositions, scores on various measures. It includes all manner of conforming, cooperating, rule-following. Some of it represents the research on conscience and morality: resistance-to-temptation measures, indices of guilt, assessment of moral reasoning. And included within this broad grouping, "positive social behavior," is the research on altruism. At any rate, I see myself as being interested in part of this zone or continuum vaguely labelled by such terms as altruism, giving, sharing, nurturing, being responsible. Other sections of Staub's review, Positive Social Behavior, those dealing with conscience development, moral reasoning, and cooperation, I feel are clearly outside the altruism part of the zone.

So: older girls from large families are more apt to be the altruistic or responsible ones. Being placed in an "elder" role, or in a responsible position, in a group of other children, draws

forth responsible behavior. If the experimenter herself acts in an especially nurturant manner, this brings forth sharing, caring behavior from the children. This confirms the researchers' expectations, that role modelling or imitation plays a part in this. Parents who, on some measure, score especially warm or nurturant or altruistic, also tend to have altruistic children. (Role modelling again, perhaps.) (Perry and Bussey 1984:245-248, 252.)

The most interesting explanatory variables to come out of this research--for which, incidentally, the evidence is less strong I believe--have to do with the parents' own behavior. Thus parental warmth is good; but not unless it is combined with some control, with demands and restrictions. Carte blanche permissiveness doesn't seem to do the trick. Age appropriate demands are good. Rewarding generous acts as they occur (with recognition, noticing them, praise, etc.)--that's good; but future-directed teaching and example is even better. ("What we want to do is this" is more effective in shaping behavior than: "That was a good one.") And so on. There is more. The writers take this to a level of refinement that I cannot do justice to here. Staub goes into the intricacies of pressure and demands. There are instances in which heavy burdens are placed on a child; and the child internalizes those expectations, takes on the burdens, acts grown-up. If the demands are seen by the child as legitimate -- something in the situation, merely a matter of being needed, not just arbitrary demands by the parents--then this can do wonders. That is the core of the discoveries by Bossard and Boll, and by the Whitings. On the other hand you can also have a boomerang effect, resistence, rebellion. Staub discusses the delicate balance, between these two opposite strong tendencies. (pp.191-198)

Perry and Bussey talk about preaching--holding up moral precepts. Preaching is all right, it turns out, if it is combined in the proper way with the parents' own example. They also discuss various norms--of reciprocity, social justice, deserving, of social responsibility--which can govern the decision, to help or not to help. (pp. 244, 252-255)

This decision, or choice-point, is a fundamental thing which first appears, in a person's life, at the age of about eighteen months. Always afterward it is with us. There is a call for help. Do I "hear" the call? Do I step forward? At this critical juncture, helpers and altruistic persons say a few key statements to themselves, of the nature of "Well it is only right that I do my share now," and "Well I guess I better help out: it's my turn" or "I don't see anyone else who is going to do it." These few statements, which the helpers make to themselves, can be distilled out of Christian doctrine or some other moral code or ideology. But the particular statements tend to be individualized, their own. (I am guessing to some extent. It is hard to get people to talk about this.) At any rate, this is the critical juncture, what divides the sheep from the goats, the helpers from the rest of us. (We drive by a stray dog at the

edge of the road. We regretfully drive past. But that occasional person will stop, and get herself into an untold amount of trouble and expense.)

What I want to do now is talk about the dawning of this helping response, at age eighteen months; and then the power of the situation--being needed to help out--in turning a child into a helper.

Altruism in the nursery.

This was first recognized for what it was, by Marian Radke Yarrow and Carolyn Zahn-Waxler, working at an NIMH lab. (1973, 1977) A child cries. A nearby child acts distressed, maybe puckers up to cry herself, perhaps looks for help. Next stage of development: child cries; neighboring child tries to stop the crying--profers a cookie, gives pats, tries to distract, whatever. As development proceeds and language is learned, the child develops a repertoire for offering comfort.

Some toddlers do not develop along these lines. Yarrow and Zahn-Waxler think the critical variables are two. (1) The mother of a helper-child serves as a good example--intervenes in times of need; is a good nurturing mother. (If not the real mother, some other mothering figure provides this example.) (2) Something like empathy or sympathy, along with the injunction to intervene, is taught. "Hear the kitty meowing? I think she's hungry. Her tummy's empty. Here, let's feed her." (And to a child holding the kitty upside-down, squeezing her:) "Hear the kitty meowing? I think her tummy"s getting squeezed. Let's put her down. Ah that's better. She feels better now." Martin Hoffman at the University of Michigan, who theorizes about the cognitive underpinnings of altruism, calls this inductive reasoning or victim-centered reasoning: imagining what it feels like; then thinking you have to do something about it. (1975, 1976) (Pines 1976)(Perry and Bussey 1984:244)

However some children, as I say, do not follow this path. They learn indifference instead. The role models they see do not respond quickly with comfort, to cries for help and nurture. Cognitively, they learn a different sort of lesson, something like "Better he than me" or "It's not my business;" or they are simply unable to connect any stirrings, within themselves, of empathic concern (Hoffman's term) with anything they might do about it. There are situations in which parents do not want their children to be distressed by the sufferings around them, and the parents try to protect them. "That's all right;" "Don't pay any attention;" messages to that effect. I did that myself once.

This, then, is the foundation of non-altruism, anti-sympathy; to a turned-off, tuned-out, deaf-ear response to the appeals of others. One can think of situations in life where one could ill-afford to be otherwise. Perhaps early discriminations can be taught. We (family) versus Them, in situations of Third-

World desperation. People versus animals (for farmers).

I have unanswered questions about this research:

If this Dawning--the Age of Readiness for learning sympathy--begins at about eighteen months, how long does it last? Is there a critical period? After awhile, is it too late? (An unsympathetic child couldn't then unlearn what else he has learned in its place; couldn't reverse himself and become a sympathetic person?) Or are there ways in which this deficiency might be made up, later on?

How important is this as a life-long "foundation" to sympathetic (or the reverse) responses? What are people really like, who take the wrong turn here? Do some persons take no "turn" at all? Perhaps for them, how they respond (or don't respond) to the awareness of suffering and need, is determined later on and in a different way.

From my experience with the case studies--not only the Lives of Service life-histories of adults, but several hundred other case studies I have done, of teenagers--I have a feeling for what the answers would be. I think the general answer is along the lines of "Let a thousand flowers bloom." It is nice to impose a general pattern, order, sequence, to make sense of data. It is our social-science habit. And it may not be totally removed from reality, I suspect. There is some tendency toward a step-wise development; and I will try to enumerate those steps. However the case studies tell us there is great diversity: many individualized life-paths, personal styles, different colorations of feeling and emotional tone, represented by the rubric, altruistic; diverse life-situations which call forth altruistic behavior. People behave inconsistently, depending on the situation and their stage of life--acting responsibly here, irresponsibly there. Saints-and-sinners, under the same skin; and mixed motives for helpful acts. So if there is this much diversity among the altruistic persons, no doubt if we could know how they got that way--the sequence of development, the key factors--we would find great diversity too.

I am going to proceed, social-science fashion, as if there was a clear pattern, a certain number of steps, a few key determining factors. I have faith--we have evidence--that there is some tendency this way. Perhaps I will exaggerate and simplify the pattern, underplay the diversity. No doubt we often do this.

The first step then: at eighteen months or whenever, the child confronts this basic choice-point which will recur throughout life. Later steps will presumably build on this in some way. However it is possible to take the "wrong" turn here, not in the direction of empathic concern; rather, in the direction of an indifferent or un-hearing response, to a call for help; and still develop into a good person (with certain limitations). It is even possible to be an altruist of a sort, while being fairly

obtuse when it comes to responding to the needs of others in interpersonal situations. This might be termed the Cotton Mather pattern: a high-minded idealist, a worker for causes perhaps, very principled, intent on doing the right thing; but insensitive, not tender, in personal relationships. There are good works in this world for people of this type too. Let a thousand flowe s bloom.

The second step of development begins in about the third year of life. The child plays at helping her mother, assisting older persons in their work. Sometimes there is no continuity from this unhelpful play (making a mess in the kitchen in the guise of helping mother) to true work later on. But if the child's help is actually needed; if there is work at hand she is capable of really helping with; then playing at helping blends, more and more,with actually working. (The Hopi Don Talayesva said: "Learning to work was like play.") (Simmons 1942:25) The child develops into a true helper within the family. This, as I see it, is a major source--one of the great well-springs--of helpfulness and giving in this world. Historically it has been very important. (And it is now on the wane, I think, in modern society.) It is more the province of females--girls wanting to be like their mothers, minding the younger children. It is tied up with maternal nurturance. In my samples, the altruists have been overwhelmingly females. (Stephens 1979, chapters one through seven.)

It is not the only source. There are other ways, and other personal styles, that can be put under the heading altruistic. At any rate, let us turn now to this phenomenon, this second step, this very moving and awesome phenomenon, really (as the first step was too), as it has been delineated by the Whitings, and by myself, and by Bossard and Boll.

Bossard and Boll: the martyrish eldest child.

This is an old study in which persons from large families--six children or more--were interviewed about what it was like, growing up, and about how their brothers and sisters turned out. (Bossard and Boll 1956)

One thing that emerged: their overloaded parents, in order to manage their teeming households and survive, had to pass the burden on to some of the children. One or several of the eldests would be taken into the team of older persons, who did the work, conferred about what had to be done, divided up the responsibility between them. The rest of the kids could go on being children, at least for awhile. In these retrospective accounts, as with the actual observations by the Whitings' fieldworkers, and by myself, and by anthropologists in numerous field situations: being put in an assistant parent role tended to make them into little parents. In Staub's terms, being accountable (for minding the little ones after school, or whatever), the eldest comes to feel accountable. It is

internalized. (pp.191-198) In the words of a large-family father from my own fieldwork, speaking of his nine-year-old daughter: "The poor child. She has the weight of the world on her shoulders." Or as I comment: "To make a child responsible, just put her in a situation where she has to behave responsibly." (1979:26) Of course it is more complicated than that. Sometimes this backfires and you get rebellion and passive resistance. (Staub 1979:191, 193, 195) (Stephens 1979: chapter six) However I suspect: not so often as one might think. If the child thinks she is needed, she responds; and she will persist in her helping, in the face of considerable unfairness of demands, clumsiness by the parents, and lack of appreciation. (1979:chapter six) What we do find is an unequal division of tasks; a few children seeming to do it all; others getting away practically Scott-free; the spoiled baby, that kind of unfairness. Sometimes it doesn't "take" with the eldest child; the second- or third-eldest becomes the little mother. Sometimes the mantle is passed along, from one child to the next: eldest daughter grows up, leaves home, second-eldest takes on her role.

Also what the outcome is, in terms of a helpful disposition, shows many variations too. Farm boys who carry a heavy load on the family work-team, doing their chores, may grow up to be prodigious workers, good team-players within the family, but not necessarily tender and nurturant. Girls who helped their mothers, played little-mother themselves, and did associated housework, seem to have these qualities. If one could follow these children over time, one could probably observe some changes. Such an "altruistic" girl might go through a boy-crazy phase, when she enters high school, and become thoughtless and inconsiderate for awhile. My fieldwork does not allow for much chance to observe such children over the long term, and thus pick up such changes as they go in and out of phases. But I have observed a few cases of this, and had several other cases described to me. Also--you will notice we are talking now of some personality trait(s) or disposition, something on the order of altruistic or giving or nurturant character, an "outcome" of this experience in childhood which "stays with" a person when she grows up. Here there are all kinds of problems. How do I know my people were "altruistic" or not? --It is just my impression. However the Whitings (below) have some quantified evidence. How do we know that the giving tendencies, or whatever, do persist beyond the childhood situations in which I thought I "saw" them? We don't. Even the Whitings can't help us here. (Their quantified evidence relies on child-personality measures.) All we have are some impressions: some grown-up altruists of my early case studies, matched against their accounts of growing up, helping in the home (Stephens 1979); and Bossard and Boll's informants' descriptions of their eldest siblings, what they were like. The question is, to what extent is this really a STEP TWO --like Marian Radke Yarrow's STEP ONE--in which a foundation is laid for lifelong altruistic character? (The assumption is: it builds on STEP ONE, and later developments build on this STEP TWO, taking persons in varying directions.) The answer is: we don't know. I think I have a moderate correlation, between being

altruistic (helpful, whatever) in adulthood and having been a family-helper during childhood; this comes out of two case-study samples. But the evidence is impressionistic; no measurement is involved. I'm sure if there is such a tendency, it is covered-over by much diversity: people acting inconsistently according to the situations that evoke behavior -- become giving and generous sometimes, and not so nice at other times; teenagers, especially, going through phases; great diversity of personal style, among the individual altruists. Finally, the case studies of adults tell us: so much happens after childhood, after the child leaves the home.

At any rate, back to Bossard and Boll's eldest children -- the ones who play the role of responsible eldest, not necessarily the chronologically eldest. They are described as responsible and giving and unselfish, almost to a fault. Quit school and go to work to help support the family. Pass up chances for college, for marriage, for a life of their own, so that little brothers and sisters can have a better chance, so that aged parents have someone to care for them (and various younger siblings don't get stuck with the job). When marrying, choose a spouse who especially needs taking care of. (For example, choose a widower with little children.) The martyr tendencies should not be exagerated; but there definitely was this theme, in the later lives of Bossard and Boll's eldests. (pp. 162, 266)

How does this jibe with my own case studies, my own impressions? My altruists did not really seem to be martyrs. There is certainly a tendency for them to do more than their share; and sometimes they step aside and give their chance to someone else. They do tend to get "stuck" with some onerous responsibility, for an aged relative, or a thankless committee assignment, or whatever. There is some tendency for their generosity to be taken advantage of, by more assertive and generous family members. They are vulnerable to exploitation. The interesting thing is -- and this I view as God's joke, one of those ironies of life -- they are the big winners. In the long run, the exploitation seems to be of incidental importance. Theirs is a winning strategy. (Unintended of course.) They are respected, liked and loved. Their self-esteem is high. (Characterologically, they are not martyrs.) In old age, they are radiant.

That is a beautiful twist of fate I think. Typically their aspirations are modest; they are not recognition-seekers. But part of the triumph of their lives is: some recognition does come their way, sooner or later; even if it is from just a few poeple around them, who come to have some appreciation for what they are. However since the altruists tend to get involved in volunteer work, the recognition often is more widespread.

At this point I would like to go back to the learning-to-work phase, in fairly early childhood. The sequence seems to go

something like this. Little child wants to "help". (Of course his early efforts aren't really helpful at all.) He is underfoot, wants to be in the middle of things when the older persons are doing something, wants to do what they are doing. (And put off to themselves, children play at adults' work -- playing at mother, pig-tender, hunter, and so on.) All the adults have to do, is take advantage of this early eagerness: give the child helpful things to do -- at first fetch-and carry, and so on, according to his ability -- and move him up to more grown-up work when he is ready. If there is such a graduated series of tasks that can be given to him; if he can see that what he contributes is of some importance to the group; if some of this work is in the company of others; and if other people, his playmates, are doing such work too -- then it doesn't seem hard to keep his eagerness alive. He is a willing helper. (In my farm fieldwork, I have been amazed at the eager children with clumsy, unappreciative parents. Need for the child's help seems to be more important than parental behavior.) (Stephens 1979:9-15).

In our modern homes the children's help is seldom needed; it is a lot easier, usually, for a parent to just do the chores herself. However the primitive villages which are described in the anthropoloical literature, customarily did provide the above conditions. We find many extraordinary accounts there, of little children acting grown-up. (Stephens 1963:395-399)

MARGARET MEAD IN SAMOA.

Not only can a five-year old mind the baby while her mother works, and an eight-year-old mind the family herds, far from home; being given this responsibility changes them -- as one would expect -- rather in the fashion of Bossard and Boll's eldests.

Margaret Mead describes how the Samoans rotten-spoil (by our standards) their little children; then rather abruptly shift the girls to the role of child-nurses. For much of each day, a girl has one of these little tyrants in her charge; tries to keep it out of trouble, attempts to keep it from bothering adults. The new role calls forth new behavior: from spoiled child, to responsible, rather harassed, child-nurse. In this way, Mead says, the rough edges are knocked off. By being put in a parental role, th child grows out of her (previous) babyish and selfish behavior. (1949:24-28)

Or, as with the Kikuyu saying which the Whitings paraphrase: "The youngest child is the spoiled child... Since the youngest sibling has no younger brother or sister to care for, how can he learn to be responsible and nurturant? He will obviously end up selfish.'" (1973:60)

And so it would seem from my own large-family cases, as well as Bossard and Boll's--spoiled baby of the family;

responsible eldests. Child-care, and other housework that goes along with it; farm chores, yard chores; fixing and mending -- this seems to make the difference. As to just what the personal change is: the working children typically seem "grown up", "mature", "sensible" beyond their years. If their work centers around nurturing (minding little brothers and sisters while doing other chores as well), one would expect an outcome on the nature of nurturant-maternal, perhaps tender-caring, perhaps giving-generous; responsible (you can leave her in charge and trust her); "altruistic" perhaps? My impression is: such girls (as they generally are girls) do tend to turn out this way. If it is farm chores, or some kind of non-nurturing work, perhaps a different kind of "responsibility" is produced. (Stephens 1979:19-43)

THE WHITINGS

These are all impressions. Our evidence, about the link between child-work and altruism, comes from a series of field studies under Beatrice and John Whiting. Among other things, they had their fieldworkers record time-samples of behavior observations, for children's play groups. These protocols could utimately be scored, back at Harvard. A child's separate acts could thus be designated "touches", "asks for help", and so on. Children who did a lot of "touches", "gives help", and other such nurturant acts ended up scoring high on a dimension which the Whitings first called altruism versus egoism (1973) and later termed helpful-responsible-nurturant. (1975)

As one would expect, the older girls tended to be the high scorers. The Americans were the absolute lowest scorers. (The Whitings' first study was a comparison of six villages, in six different countries. Later they compared more villages, and urban neighborhoods, in Kenya.)

And, as you must be expecting, altruism went with doing chores. Villages which worked their children harder, had more altruistic children. The Whitings have a number of interesting, and rather discouraging, things to say about this, as it relates to our own child-rearing. Not only were the American children at the absolute bottom of the heap (as one would expect -- less is required of them); but chores of the clean-up-your-room, pick-up-your-things, make-yourself-presentable variety don't seem to help. It is life-giving work which makes the differnce: caring for the baby, bringing in wood and water, tending the animals, doing farm work, helping to prepare the food. And of course our homes do not offer too much chance for this, unless there are several children and an older child is needed to help with the younger ones. (There is also babysitting in other homes, which girls ultimately do; and this is a socialization experience which we do still have.) Finally, the Whitings say, it all starts with bona fide need for the child's help. This sets in motion the sequence which leads to altruistic children.

One thing they found: although all their villages (aside from the American) were in Third-World countries, and were pretty primitive by our standards--life was easier in some, harder in others. Recent modern improvements had lightened the load--a water tap in the village square, charcoal for sale to be used as fuel--and cut into the traditional round of work (carrying in faggots and branches and logs; carrying containers of water up from the fountain or creek, and so on). The Whitings reconstruct the causal sequence as follows; and I think they have evidence for each step in the sequence. In the more backward villages, with the least such improvements, there is the heaviest load of work on the mothers. There is more pressure on these mothers, more incentive, to press their children into service. So they do, at a relatively younger age. The children in these villages do more work; and they score higher on the altruism measure. (1975:70-110)

Before the Whiting studies, we had all the anecdotal accounts of working children and how grown-up they seemed, which had been lying around in the anthropological literature (Stephens 1979:9-14). They did something systematic with this; and they penetrated to new depth of understanding -- these causal relationships. Not only that, they buttoned it down with some real evidence, gathered at great effort. The limitation, which is certainly not their fault, is this: these altruists are ten years old or younger. We don't know if these effects, of working, carry over into adulthood.

COLLEGE- STUDENT CASE-HISTORIES

What evidence we have, is not meaurement-based. It is from my own case studies. In my Lives of Service sample of adults, about half of them had this background of family-helping -- greater-than-chance, no doubt, but still leaving much room for other, unrelated, antecedents. Before I did Lives of Service, I gathered several hundred case studies and family studies centering on teenagers, older children, and especially college students. (My own students answer questions about all this and tell about their lives.) I started out in this, searching for modern-day, this-society equivalents to the primitive-society, village conditions, described by the anthropologists -- one presumes, the more "normal" conditions throughout human history-- in which it semed so easy to draw little children into the work, and (presumably) socialize them as helpful persons. (1979:17)

I visited farms, and other rural homes where there were a lot of chores; and large families; and homes in which an older daughter has to (to some extent) take the mother's place. (Latch-key child; single-parent home; both parents working; or mother disabled.) There were also homes in which children were being drawn into mechanical work, fixing and repairing, and making things. Finally, other homes were in the sample which

were more typically American or Canadian, in which there was no especial need for the kids' help. I also paid attention to outside-the-home settings, which might be later steps in an Altruistic or Responsible life-path: paid jobs, volunteer jobs, holding offices in organizations.

I have the very strong impression from all this, that the relationship stands up. Of course I'm quite a biased observer by this time. Students who are telling me their stories may be biased too. (Although they love to confound me with exceptions show me they were different.) Making allowance for halo effect, this is what I see -- many variations on this dominant pattern:

A student, telling me her story. She is nursing student; or she is in physiotherapy, or she wants to work with the handicapped, or with the aged; or she wants to be a social worker or a teacher. As she tells about her many experiences, caring for younger children; and about her own mother (and any other maternal role models - perhaps an older sister); one gets the impression of strong maternal interest. Sooner or later she will want very much to be a mother herself. She is a sweet girl; it is in her manner and in her story. The feeling is strong: she will be a nurturant mother; and a tender and caring nurse (or whatever), if given the chance. She tells her story. The steps in her development: early childhood, wanting to be like her mother and "helping" her, at first in play, then for real; child-care and associated housework; perhaps also caring for a grandmother or some other infirm relative; at around twelve, babysitting outside the home; and other occasions to work with children as she gets older. The volunteering-helping pattern becomes obvious by the 'teens. She probably does volunteer work then. She is a candystriper, or she visits shut-ins, or she does church work, or whatever. She is an aide in a nursing home perhaps. Sometime during the 'teens, she reality-tests one of the helping occupations: nurse (or other health-profession worker), worker with the retarded, worker in a geriatric field, social-service, whatever. She makes a personal discovery: she can do it; she can stand it; it feels right. Her early nurturant tendencies connect with the requirements of the role. And she forms some personal identification with the type of person she wants to work with (senile, retarded, hospital patient, child or whatever). This gives her the career direction that she has, at the time I encounter her.

I never learn how it turns out. I worry that the clumsy institutions these girls (and some boys too) go into, will thwart the giving impulse. I hope the development -- the continued flowering -- proceeds well, on-the-job. But this is a cause for concern.

Traditionally, this caring-giving disposition found expression in the home--nurturant mother, home-maker, good neighbor, a glorious female tradition, passed on from mother to daughter; always under-appreciated, and now even more gone out of

fashion. My impression (for whatever it is worth) is that the tradition is stronger now in Maritime Canada than it is in the USA--where the standard of living is lower, amenities are fewer, perhaps families are larger. This sort of outcome is associated with a background of much work during childhood: Bossard-and-Boll situations; homes with perhaps wood stoves, maybe farm animals to tend; old fashioned houses demanding a lot more housework; little children to mind.

So this is a dominant theme to be found in the students' life-stories. There are exceptions: sweet nurturant girls who shouldn't be this way since they didn't have much to do in childhood; and persons who should be this way (since they were worked hard in childhood) with whom, for whatever reason, it didn't take". (Stephens 1979:65-90)

Sometimes the nurturant background does not connect with an ambition in the health professions and social services. And, needless to say, some of my nursing students do not have this background or this disposition.

There are other themes in the life-stories, in addition to this nurturant-maternal one: enterpriser, office-holder and manager, mechanical hobbyist; (1979:140-203) a career as a VIP in high school; a career as an athlete or a performer of some kind; traveller-adventurer; a series of jobs with lessons learned from them; and others. (Stephens 1985)

Several of these themes will combine, weave together, in the same life-story. One path of development in particular can lead to a different kind of "altruism:" holding offices in organizations, helping to plan events and run things, which can begin in junior high school, and which foreshadows civic work in adulthood. (1985:225-231) More on this later.

VOLUNTEER WORK AND CO-OP EDUCATION.

During the late 1970s and early '80s, when I was hearing such stories from these beautiful young people (interspersed with many other unexceptional stories of course), cries of alarm were coming forth, from authoritative social scientists, about a breakdown in youth-responsibility. The calls for reform actually started a bit earlier, toward the close of the counterculture period, circa 1970. They would include Bronfenbrenner's Two Worlds of Childhood (1971, 1972) and certain of his later writings (1980); the Coleman Report submitted in 1973; the writings of Edward A. Wynne (1977, especially pages 159-161) (1979); and various reviews of school policy. (Conrad and Hedin, p. 1).

Perhaps my little corner of North America -- being relatively backward -- offers more work for children to do in the home, and therefore produces more young people of this type. Maybe not; or perhaps any difference is only a slight one, of degree. At any

rate, if the traditional sources of altruism, within the home, are weakening, there has been some strengthening elsewhere. Youth organizations and extracurricular activities have grown and taken on more substance; they offer teenagers chances to hold offices and otherwise learn responsibility. This is not the same as learning nurturance and helpfulness within the home. But this does represent an institutional growth, a strengthening, of youth-training in the general area of service and responsibility. (Stephens 1985; chapter one.)

Also, volunteer work has burgeoned (followed by a certain amount of setback in the past few years). (DeMott 1978) From the junior high school age period onward, kids do volunteer work. Some of it is within the youth organizations; other volunteer work is outside the youth organizations (Candystriping, for instance.) (Stephens 1985; Chapter Nine.)

A third trend: recent educational reforms that have been tried, have included learning-by-doing, outside-the-classroom experiences, apprenticeships, internships cooperative education programs; and some of this has been aimed at service-learning.

There have been evaluation studies of some of these efforts. Conrad and Hedin studied service-learning programs by the schools. (They studied other kinds of co-op education programs too.) High school students took questionnaires, went out and did their community service or whatever, then were later re-tested wth the questionnaires. This test-retest generally showed movement, in the direction of "social development". For whatever it is worth, then: we have this kind of self-reported improvement, by high school students, as a result of being in community service programs. (Conrad and Hedin.)

Readers: help me here. There must be the same kind of evidence in support of volunteer programs, put out by ACTION, SYNERGIST, AVAS, United Way, or whatever. However at present my literature reviews stop with David Horton Smith, of AVAS and of the sociology department at Boston College, whose written reviews of research on volunteer work go up to the mid-70s (ones that I have read), and who as late as 1981 opined that there was nothing much of anything, of substance, in the way of research on effects of volunteering, I suspect this is partly a matter of him excluding evidence like the above, as "nothing of much substance". ??? but I haven't found write-ups like Hedin's, for research on volunteer programs (outside the schools). Research like this must have been done. Where would I find reports of it?

Now - FINALLY - we are ready for the Lives of Service.

THE LIVES OF SERVICE SAMPLE.

The main unanswered question in all this research -- on the origins of altruism, and on the effects of any volunteer experiences, and service-learning, in adolsecence -- is: what happens when these people reach adulthood? Any effects that hold, for children, for adolsecents - do they continue into adulthood? The Lives of Service study was undertaken to make a start toward filling this gap.

We gathered thirty-two case-histories of adults. No effort was made at representative sample-slection; we simply went after obvious, outstanding, altruistic persons. About half the cases come from Maritime Canada. The rest are scattered about the USA, with one from British Columbia. Our data-collection method was, likewise, informal. We followed a topic checklist. We chose people whom we already knew, and filled in the checklist for them from what we already knew -- and presumed -- of their lives. We also interviewed them. (For a few cases this was not possible.) Hopefully, some day a more elaborate and expensive study can follow, taking more precautions in the interests of standardized data-gathering. An example would be Levinson's (1978) life-history study.

For the various altruism antecedents in the literature, which had been correlated with child personality measures, there was little we could do to "replicate" for adults. We had no way to make a retrospective assessment for the older persons in our sample. To take an extreme example--the altruism-in-the-nursery phenomenon, of Marian Radke Yarrow--knowledge of this is lost forever in these persons' histories, no way to retrieve it. For the antecendents from my own previous research, this is what we found:

Childhood work, family helping, caring for younger children -- in other words, the antecendents discovered by the Whitings -- about half the sample had done a lot of this; the other half had not. This seems a rather high proportion. However who knows what the average population figure should be? In Maritime Canada, a generation or two ago (when most of these people were children), the figure might have been a good deal higher than it is today, in the United States. I would conclude that this finding is mildly positive, but only mildly so.

For teenage office-holding and volunteer work: few people had done much of this. However I think when the older people in the sample were teenagers, there was not too much of this available. For Kevin--the youngest person in the sample, to be described soon--it was important in his life.

A third antecendent stood out. As far as I know it is unmentioned in the literature. It is the church. Slightly more than half the people in the sample were not only church members; they were also (over some portion of their lives) active church workers.

The most important cause, however, seemed to be the overall adult life-situation. The altruists had gone through active and quiescent phases in their lives; periods of great activity, doing volunteer work, working for various causes, tended to alternate with relatively inactive periods. In an active period: a person was "held in place" in a particular social position; by virtue of the position or positions she occupied (church worker or whatever), she was repeatedly "called on" to volunteer, help out in various ways. She answered the call, and as a result was called on again and again.

These case studies, then, add little if anything to our knowlege about the childhood antecendents. Their contrbution is this: they shift our attention from these childhood variables to the adult life-situation, seen over a span of time. When this is done, the problem of altruism and its causes is framed in an entirely new way. One's attention becomes redirected to types of adult life-situations, kinds of altruistic activity, varieties of altruistic careers; and to the social context, the community-organization of volunteer work.

Altruism (or giving, or helping) is expressed in the following ways:

(1) Volunteer work for organizations. This in turns breaks down into office-holding, planning, organizing, directing, versus just being one of the workers. Most of the people had served, at various times, in both these capacities.

(2) Nurturance, support, varieties of giving, directed toward family members and other relatives.

(3) Informal giving and helping -- outside the voluntary orgnizations -- directed toward persons other than family members and relatives. Two sub-varieties of this are: the good-neighbor pattern, more characteristic of rural and small-community life; and the phenomenon of the helping person who steps forward in a situation of need (and other persons who make their way through life, looking for thse helping persons to step forward).

(4) Altruism which is job-related. Certain occupations offer special opportunities to work in the interests of others, far beyond the normal call of duty. To some extent, the opportunities are "in" the occupation. Thus, ministers have certain avenues for giving; professors have others; and similarly for nurses and high school teachers and so on. In some jobs, the opportunities -- although real -- are more limited. (Secretaries for example.) Power positions in certain organizations give chances to be a facilitator for junior persons, a mentor, a protector; to "open doors" for others; and of course some positions give leverage to work for social causes. Often no doubt, the organizations seem to offer opportunities, then

frustrate the reformers' attempts. However I have been impressed by persons' inventiveness. Occupational roles get reshaped, in individualized ways, into lives of helping and good works.

We will proceed as follows:

First, I will sketch two case histories to illustrate some of these modes of giving, and to illustrate a few of the antecedents: Marcia, the oldest person in the sample (seventy-eight at the time of writing); and Colin, who was about thirty at the time of interviewing.

Then I will discuss new causes and antecendents, which are suggested by Lives of Servic case histories.

Then I will talk about the community organization of volunteer work; and other incentives -- aside from altruism and generosity -- for volunteering; and altruism on-the-job; and finally, strategic problems which persons encounter, if they desire that their lives "make a difference".

Marcia.

Marsh represents several old-fashioned patterns of giving. First of all, she was the unmarried daughter who stayed with her parents, kept the home going, passed up opportunities of her own, and nursed her parents through their declining years. (As described by Bossard and Boll.) In Marcia's case, she did go away to the big city (Chicago) for a career of her own. Then she returned home in her mid-thirties, when someone was needed to stay with the parents. This was the turning point. From this point on she built her life of service in her home town (Evansville, Indiana). Her mother died after about a year. Her invalid father lingered for almost a decade. Then she took on the care of two other aging relatives. Now she is free of this, and lives by herself.

This, caring for a series of aging relatives, is another old-fashioned pattern of giving, I think, which is exemplified by some of the other ladies in the sample.

She also visits aged shut-ins. This is still another trditional pattern I think, something the church ladies do -- making hospital calls, nursing-home calls (etc.); and she drives for Meals on Wheels. As she grows older herself, these senile old persons whom she calls on tend, more and more, to be lifelong friends, friends of the family, people from church. My impression is that she has accumulated obligations -- persons she feels she must visit periodically. And more and more, she goes to funerals.

For over forty years, since her return, she has been a worker in her church. I think she sees herself as carrying on the family obligation in this church, which goes back over a hundred years. She serves on committees, teaches bible classes, visits the sick. Within this church context she is "called on", again

and again, and she answers the call.

Marsh is part of a larger network of Evansville citizens who know each other, who have served alongside each other on boards and committees. I think they are her reference group (that is to say, she compares herself with other public-spirited and altruistic persons, and she shares attitudes with them). As part of this network, she is also "called on" from time to time for non-church volunteer work. For example she serves on the board, for the library of which she was director before her retirement.

Her life-situation, which "holds her in place", "answering calls", I imagine to have this kind of group-anchoring -- the church, and this other network. In each of these groups she occupies a position which encourages volunteer work -- being called on, answering the calls. In her church and in the larger network, she is influenced (or so I imagine) by friends she compares herself with. And each group represents an ideology of service. This she won't talk about. But I would guess that at those critical junctures which I spoke about earlier -- when she is asked to volunteer -- what she says to herself ("Well it's my turn" or whatever) must be influenced by some more general ideology of this nature.

Now at seventy-eight I think she is learning to say "no" when asked to do things. She has slowed down a bit; but she is still fairly active. How has it worked out for Marsh, this Christian life of service, self-sacrificing, no family of her own? She is stooped and wrinkled, but in her manner she does not seem like an old person. She has a certain radiance. Her life strategy has been a great success. Because she has been so active she is widely known in town, much admired, beloved.

(Most of the persons in the sample achieved even more prominence, I think, because they were more inclined to take on leadership roles. Marcia's preference seems to be for the non-office-holding positions -- just to be one of the workers. However she is administratively competent; she has done both.)

The fact that she did not marry, and did not have children of her own, was probably one reason for her volunteer career. An obvious coping technique, for potentially lonely single persons, is to reach out beyond the home: after the day's work, after supper, leave the home again for a meeting. Her single status fit, too, with the pattern of caring for aging relatives. When her invalid father finally died, when she could finally have an apartment of her own and her own cat -- she was overcome, she said, by a feeling of emptiness. So she took on her next onerous burden, living with her difficult older sister; and this feeling passed.

Marsh exemplifies a successful retirement-adjustment: keeping "busy", being "needed". It is fairly widely recognized that this is what retired persons should try to do. My impression is, however: retired people make little gestures in

this direction; but they tend not to really get into this life-pattern, unless it was already established in the years before their retirement. (This is, as a matter of fact, an empirical question which could be checked out with research.) The retirees in our sample -- before their retirement -- were crowding in volunteer activities after the day's work. Then, when they retired, the volutneer work simply expanded to fill this vacuum, these extra hours in the day.

(This statement should be qualified. Some of our volunteers went through periods in their lives when they were relatively inactive. These times tended to be the high-demand periods, for career and/or child-rearing. Then, when they had more time, the volunteering increased again. However none of them suddenly became active volunteers for the first time, after they retired. The research question is: can this be done by retired persons, if they have not shown these tendecies at some times in their past lives? I think it would be hard to do. But this would be a worthwhile question to investigate further. Maybe there are special circumstances which would make this possible for some people.)

Why is it that the volunteering habit must be already established, before a person retires? (If in fact this does tend to be the case.) I think the answer is: the volunteering life, if it really gathers momentum -- as with our Lives of Service people -- represents a great output of effort. It would simply be too much trouble for most of us -- we wouldn't have time, it would crowd our schedules too heavily, we would feel overburdened. Directing a money-raising drive, or being treasurer to a voluntary organization, can mean keeping track of innumerable messy little details. It is easy to find a reason not to take on such a task -- so we don't "step forward", and therefore do not get into the accelerating life-pattern of being "called on". Also, much of the individualized giving and helping would be unpleasant, for one reason or another. Why take on extra nursing homes to visit? The Lives of Service people got into the habit of taking on such taxing duties, and expending all this extra energy; then, when they grew old, it simply continued. But I think this is not something that one can simply decide to do, when one has the time.

Also, more is involved than merely getting into the volunteering habit. Special personal qualities make these people different from the rest of us. There are the presumed altruism-causes from childhood -- the subject of so much past research -- which (we researchers hope) continue to have something to do with the altruism of adults. And there are other antecedents: being a church member, being unmarried and childless, having a high energy level, having a flair for office-holding and administrative work, and others. Marsh exemplifies the first two of these antecedents; Colin, our next case, the last three. An altruist does not have to have all these qualities. But some necessary combination of several of them seems to be required. Then the volunteering life-pattern can take over: being called

on, answering the call, therefore being called on some more.

Colin.

Colin represents another social type: the young businessman who has thrown himself into civic affairs. Unlike Marsh he is not a church person. But he is still a strong upholder of traditional values. Like her, he is part of a network of public-spirited citizens. He sees himself as sharing in the responsibility for keeping things running in his town's (Kelowna, B.C.) voluntary organizations. He has held a series of offices, has served on committees, has helped with money-raising drives and campaigns. At the time of interviewing he was a Big Brother, and he was president of a ski club.

The ski club was quite time-consuming; skiing is a major activity in Kelowna. However it is true; this is a recreational group, not service-oriented or humanitarian. In his history of volunteer-involvements over the years: some of the groups were more clearly devoted to social-service causes; other of the groups were less so.

Typically, a group's activities is a blend of the two -- partly service-oriented, partly social or for-fun. This would be the case for the businessmen's service clubs -- Kiwanis, Rotary, Kinsmen, JCs, and the rest. It would even be true for Marcia's church. This is generally the case for persons who are drawn into civic volunteering efforts. Helping with various "social" events -- which sometimes are then reported on the newspaper's Society Page -- can take up a large part of their volunteerng efforts. Working for serious causes typically gets diverted into activities of this nature, in which it becomes problematic, finally, whether what one is doing is worthwhile. To state this in another way: persons who have energy to expend on good works are faced with a strategic problem. If they do volunteer work for groups, they tend to get drawn into these more "social" efforts -- thus taking time and energy away from other possible work which is more clearly in the interests of some serious cause. Where do they draw the line? Do they say no? - This they tend not to do, I think. Then they must choose groups which will not take them too far afield from serious efforts. Still, volunteering persons tend to blend "social" with "serious" activities.

The strategic problem of volunteering persons is even more complicated than this. Numerous volunteer jobs may be of questionable value for other reasons: the group one is asked to work for is ineffective; or the goal it is working for is doubtful; or the role one is asked to play is trivial, or seems not to be helpful .....

**Note: this ski club digression belongs somewhere else; probably under Strategic Problems of the Volunteer.

In addition to the volunteer work, Colin's giving impulse takes the form of hospitality to friends. After he gets home from work he likes to have people over for dinner and cook for them. He is a bachelor, living in his own house. He often has house-guests. In his relationships with the ladies he seems exceedingly gracious, doing favors, running errands, offering support.

I ask Colin: why does he do all this? He says he "enjoys groups and organizations." He also says: not only does he like to stay busy; he "needs to be with people". Filling his house with guests--there are signs that he is something of a compulsive socializer, that he flees from being alone. But the socializing takes the form of giving, helping, being the host.

Colin is a high-energy person. He has lots left over after his day's work. However this energy has been harnessed into constructive activity rather than pure play or recreation: doing his volunteer work, cooking dinner for friends.

Colin's bachelor status, and his high energy level, have made it easier for him to be an active volunteer and an altruistic person. The habit of being a "worker"--harnessing his extra energies into constructive activities--plays a part too.

Colin says he was not always this way. It developed over a period of years; there were several formative experiences that set him on this path.

In his junior year in high school, in Victoria on Vancouver Island, he went on a Jeune Voyageurs trip to Ontario. This, he says, "brought me out of my shell." It "changed me from an introvert to an extrovert." This kind of testamonial I have heard many times from my students. The turnaround event may be a travel experience, or a job, or involvement in a sports team or various other teenage clubs or activities.

Then, in his final year of high school, Colin became "active." He worked on the Yearbook. He acted in a play. He did something in sports. This in itself does not have much to do with a life of service. But being "brought out", then joining into activities, working in group efforts, was a step toward his ultimate volunteering life-pattern. This too has been described to me by students: getting drawn in, discovering they can do it, finally becoming an important person in their high school or in some other youth-activity context. (Stephens 1985: especially chapters one and three.)

Then he went on to the University of Victoria. For awhile he stopped being active. (This too is a familiar pattern, followed by my Dalhousie students. In high school some of them had learned the lesson: to live a rich life, to be an insider and an important person - join in, work for group efforts. Then they go on to college and seem to have forgotten this.)

It was not until his third year at university that Colin's big experience occurred. There was series of walkathons for some money-raising cause. For the climatic walkathon: Colin was one of three organizers for the city of Victoria. During the final days before the walkathon, they worked eighteen hours a day. One of the organizers collapsed. When ten thousand people turned out and walked, and when Colin wrote a check for $60,000, knowing that the arrangements he had made had made this possible -- it brought a sense of power, of accomplishment. It was a "high."

Colin sees this as his turning point, his affirmation. He was launched into his career of civic activity, arrangements-making, volunteering.

Overview of the antecedents: how they got that way.

I'll now go through the various things in these persons' backgrounds and situations, which seem to have made them into altruistic persons. Doing this not only requires some inferences (which may be off the mark at times); it also introduces a certain distortion. The presumed causes tend to be intertwined and overlapping; sorting them out under headings and sub-headings, and talking about them separately, is somewhat artificial. Also, putting people into types and subtypes blurs over individual differences, the rich variety in their separate stories.

As this is based on inferences from thirty-two case-histories, if someone else were to have done this, he would no doubt come up with a somewhat different arrangement, different categories, terms, and distinctions. If we were to add to the sample--for example gather cases from another country--we might want to add a few more background factors.

We could further enlarge this list: from "causes for becoming altruistic" to "causes for volunteering." Then we would bring in more incentives and motives which are not altruistic at all. These too will be dealt with,later on.

The causes can be broken down into two overall groupings: (1) social position and (2) personal characteristics, and events in these persons' histories which made them what they are. Social position--as with Marcia's church membership, and Colin's role in the network of civic leaders in Kelowna -- in turn has two major aspects. First of all, Marsh and Colin are "held in place" in life, singled out as givers and volunteers. By virtue of their roles in their groups, they are called on, answer the calls, therefore are called on some more. Also they are influenced by their colleagues -- by other persons' example, and by a (somewhat) shared ideology. This comes to bear on what they say to themselves, at those times when they are asked to help. As a matter of fact this latter is the most inferential. People tend not to talk about this. Even if they were willing, they could probably not say very much about any shared ideology.

At any rate, social position--group-anchoring--always seems to be involved. Various of the personal-background factors are present, in different combinations, for the different altruistic persons. First I will deal with personal background and personal characteristics. Then I will take up social position.

Under this heading one could put all the prior research on altruism: the studies reviewed by Staub and by Perry and Bussey; Yarrow, the Whitings, Bossard and Boll; my own work on childhood-helping and teenage activities; research on teenage volunteering and service-learning. To the extent that any of those childhood-correlates of altruism continue to have any effect in adulthood, they might be placed here.

Then: the most conspicuous correlate from the Lives of Service sample--the church. (But I will discuss this under group-membership and social position.)

Next: formative events and influential persons in these people's past lives. Marcia's turning point was her decision to give up her career in Chicago and come home to nurse her mother. Kevin's turnaround experiences were Jeune Voyageurs and the walkathon. Another person--a lifetime worker for pacifist causes--tells how he was a Conscientious Objector during the Korean War. I think this ordeal so committed him to the Cause, that he could no longer seriously question it or turn his back on it. A minister gives credit to several churchmen and professors who influenced him when he was a young man. They gave him a vision of what his life could be.

Mentors and role-models; the process of becoming committed to an ideology or a group or cause; turning points in life; major decisions--something of this enters into each story. These life-history events overlap with other causes. Perhaps Marcia's decision to come home had been predetermined, by personal tendencies which were already there. (Altruistic or family-serving or whatever.) The pacifist's story of commitment flows into his present-day group-anchoring. Still, these events definitely fill out the picture of how these persons got that way. The life-history literature, as embodied in such works as Levinson's The Seasons of a Man's Life and the Newmans' Development Through Life, provides a frame of reference in which lives are divided into periods, with transitions and marker events in between; with developmental tasks or challenges within each period; major learning experiences, negative life experiences (which occasionally can be turned to the good); long-range goals and strivings; the management of conflicts and problems; life-themes, characteristic modes of behavior and personal styles; and the influnce of mentors and models and helping persons. (Nelson 1984) This life-history frame of reference does add something, to the understanding of altruistic careers. Even without the life-history theory: simply listening to people tell their stories, with turning points and big decisions and separate periods--this adds, to any listing of antecedents or causes.

Next I would put a group of personal characteristics, which partly explain why people were drawn into volunteering. Aptitude for administrative work, within the voluntary organizations, is one of these. Some persons seem to have a flair for committee-work. They are willing to speak before groups, help take charge of arrangements and plan events. So they get appointed to committees and get elected to offices; they are drawn into leadership roles. To a greater or less extent, they enter into the civic-leader elite. This is what has happened to Marcia and to Colin. Once this has occurred,other incentives help keep the civic leaders going. (They are insiders; they hear gossip and political rumors and "inside dope;" it is interesting; the telephone rings, they are sought out; they have a sense of the importance of what they are doing; prestige and personal recognition and admiration, in various forms, comes their way; they get the satisfaction of exercising their skills, even discovering new strengths they might not have known they had; and so on, in varying degree and combinations, for the different leaders.)

Other people do not have this personal flair and hence never get drawn in. If they have a leadership experience it doesn't "take". Some persons, otherwise willing to volunteer, are afraid to speak up; or they can't stand the boredom of a formal meeting or the frustration they might have once experienced in committee work. For whatever reasons, they hang back from participating in groups. So they never get drawn in. They might do other kinds of volunteering; they may express altruism in other ways. However, such persons' chances for altruistic careers have been reduced; one of the major avenues of development has been shut down.

Colin has two other characteristics that help. He is a high-energy person. And he is a worker. He ememplifies what Robert Havighurst has termed the habit of industry (1964). To take up the high-energy first:

In my study of youth work I encountered other persons of this sort, who were the adult leaders of youth groups. After the day's work was over, they plunged themselves into still more demanding activities. Evidently they weren't tired. They simply had more left over; so they could step into the hullaballoo of, say, a Scout meeting, without feeling particularly stresed or put-upon.

Listening to stories of high-energy young persons, I have come to the impression that this great resource, for adults,this gift from God that can permit these people to do so much more, starts out -- in such persons' histories in childhood and adolescence --as a problem. This upwelling restlessness has to be harnessed into constructive activity; otherwise it spells trouble. In their own private ways,without any particular guidance, these young people struggle with their restlessness; and some of them work out ways to channel it into constructive

activity. This,I would guess, was the case for Colin.

Of course with such persons as Colin there is always the chance that they are not high-energy by native endowment; perhaps they are simply enthusiastic about the projects they are working on. A life-system is under way, in which projects and events and excitement breed enthusiasm, which energizes the person; and this feeds back into more activity, more projects and excitement. It is hard to know where the energy is coming from. Perhaps both native endowment, and a secondary effect--enthusiasm for what they have gotten themselves into--maybe both are involved. Whatever; such persons seem to have a very high capacity for carrying a heavy load.

Some persons' crowded schedules suggest a driven quality. Possibly they are escaping from loneliness. Or, they crowd in still one more obligation, then another, because they "can't say no" (for some reason of their own). So: being a compulsive volunteer, crowding one's schedule out of personal need; versus having a very great capacity to carry a heavy schedule -- it is hard to separate these.

The next characteristic--habit of industry--is a matter of personal style. After the work-day is over, do you rest, read, watch TV? Do you fill your leisure time with bona fide leisure activities? Or do you simply start working on other things? Two modes of after-work constructive activity are (1) making things or fixing things, pursuing hobbies, doing mechanical work, doing recreational projects which require planning and effort; and (2) taking on more obligations, volunteering, doing things for other persons and for groups. (Either one of these can be the foundation for a successful retirement adjustment; but as I said, I think the life-pattern must be already-established before the person retires.)

Certain of the altruists in the sample were definitely high-energy; some were very much "a worker"; some showed both these traits, as did Colin. Others were not particularly this way. Marcia spends time reading and resting and idly socializing; but she does have the habit of volunteering.

The next trait is being a single person; better yet, living alone. Then, rather than having reasons why you need to be home after work--helping to mind the children, giving some attention to family members--your obvious course of action is to build a life outside the home, establish ties, take on obligations. Thereby, you flee from loneliness, or from any feeling of emptiness and uselessness; you give your life meaning, you become "needed," "useful". Put another way: if you don't have family to make demands on you, then you have more time to volunteer; you even have more reason to do this.

One can be busy outside the home, socially involved--going to bridge parties and the like--without being much of a volunteer. (This is another life-pattern for retired persons.)

But for persons who already have the altruistic tendencies, living alone makes volunteering easier.

The larger principle is: other demands--from family, growing children, career--can naturally cut into volunteering. At those life-periods when these demands slacken off, then the volunteering can expand.

The life-periods, in themselves, constitute another "cause" or "antecedent." Following persons through some of these periods, we can see fluctuations in their volunteer activity. The alternation--active, then not so active--can be partly explained by such reasons as having the time after the children are in school, or needing to fill time after one retires.

For my Dalhousie students: a large minority of them had established the pattern of volunteering, and perhaps holding offices, before they entered the university. Then when they entered college they tended to stop volunteering. The pressure of college studies has something to do with this. But in addition, I suspect, the university is not such a favorable milieu, for drawing them in, as was high school and junior high.

For the early-adult and middle-adulthood periods: some persons who once were active volunteers, are now doing little. For them it seems: volunteering has been crowded out by the demands of job and family. (Nevertheless other people persist in their volunteering, during high-demand periods.) I would assume, for altruistic persons who no longer seem to have the time to volunteer: sooner or later they will be less busy with job and family, and then they will start volunteering again. Also, even while altruistic persons are not volunteering, they may continue in their altruism in other ways. (The other "modes": on-the-job, good-neighboring, taking care of relatives.)

A few of the Lives of Service people began volunteering in mid-life. Marcia started when she returned home in her mid-thirties. A young businessman who had never been a volunteer before, suddenly threw himself into civic projects--partly no doubt because it was good for business. These people are exceptions to the rule that past volunteering predicts future volunteering, and that if persons have not done much of this at some time in their past, they are a poor bet to do much in the future--even if they want to and intend to. The exceptions can be accountd for by another principle: the power of social position, for drawing people in. For the young businessman: it evidently made sense, at that point in his life, to get active in civic affairs. Once started, one thing led to another--he was called on, answered the call, was called on again, was probably influenced by co-volunteers, and so on. (However his very intense activity requires still more explanation: he was high-energy, was "a worker ," and so on.) Similarly for Marcia: returning to Evansville, caring for her parents--volunteering fit into her new way of life, in a manner in which it had not fit before.

As people progress through the stages of adulthood, various things can get them started again. One's child gets old enough to join Cubs, then Scouts, then school-extracurricular and other youth-activities. At this point some parents become active, helping out with youth-work. Housewives, perhaps when their children get a little older and the demands slacken off, increase their volunteer work. Professional people and their wives get drawn into the community-leader network: they join service clubs, are asked to serve on boards and committees. People who take on responsibility in their church, are drawn into other civic work.

From this point on, I feel I know less about fluctuations in people's activity. A person will work very hard for a particular group for awhile--perhaps be president; then, having done her bit, she will pass the burden on to someone else. A volunteer's career shows a series of involvements like this: president of the League of Women Voters; then program chairman for the Pilot Club; then Sunday School superintendent; and so on. She takes up offices and other volunteer-jobs--typically, doing several at any one time--then passes them on to other persons and moves on. But as to the waxing and waning of overall volunteer activity over time--and the reasons for this--the case studies give only occasional hints.

One man got cancer; then evidently he recovered. He says this brush with death brought about a fundamental change in him; he gives this much of the credit for his volunteering. This kind of turnaround experience--more private, less apt to be reported--may be fairly common among the altruists. We don't know, since people rarely talk about this sort of thing.

As for reasons why people slow down with their volunteer activity: the instability of the voluntary organizations probably has something to do with this at times. The groups have their ups and downs, good periods and bad, dissension among the leaders, even occasional collapse and mass exodus. Several people had invested heavily in groups that ultimately turned sour. When they got out, they seem to have been less active for awhile. (Actually this is not too clear from the case histories.)

One woman's husband retired and they moved to the country. Separated from the city where her volunteering was done, she had to stop what she was doing. Moves punctuated the altruists' careers: ending old involvements; bringing a pause. Then they gradually formed new group-ties and got started again; but this depended on what the new setting had to offer.

SOCIAL POSITION: GROUP-ANCHORING FOR ALTRUIST CAREERS.

This brings us to the other large class of reasons, social position, which I divided into two sub-classes: (1) occupying a role which gets you "called on," and (2) being under the influence of other persons--often co-volunteers--who are also

altruistic (i.e., role models, Significant Others, reference group, sharers of an ideology).

Social position seems always to be involved. Fluctuations in people's volunteering seem due, overwhelmingly, to changes in their social position, as they move from one life-situation to the next. This has a progressive quality. You move into a position in which you are called on, you answer the call, and the process begins. One thing leads to the next; one involvement leads to others. Finally I suppose a limit must be reached. Persons must have to learn to say no at times; they must have to prioritize, decide what they want to do and what must wait. But actually there is little mention of this in the case studies; and it is common for such persons to become overloaded, with very heavy schedules.

I have been speaking of volunteer work, and not talking about the other modes for altruistic effort. However, social position enters in, for these as well. It is crucial for altruism on-the-job. Here, it is more a matter of certain occupational roles offering opportunities of particular kinds. The influence of reference groups can come to bear too, on-the-job; as can being "called on."

For good-neighboring: my impression is that very small towns and rural communities tend to support this pattern. (A few people in the sample were active good neighbors, and they lived in the city. But they had all grown up in the country or in small towns.) Perhaps an old-fashioned ethic of mutual aid is involved. Also, I think that in these small communities, people feel less constrained about calling on each other unannounced. Children wander in and out of neighbors' houses. In sudden need of a babysitter, you simply drive by your neighbor's house and drop off the kids. Even though informally borrowing and lending, casually giving help and asking favors, may be less constrained in such communities, certain individuals and families still tend to stand out, as super-helpers. They are the most involved in charities and favors and volunteering; their reputation makes them more apt to be called on. This is my impression at any rate. Again, social position: living in a community (or growing up in a community) which makes it easy to give help and ask for help; and being singled out, over time, as a super-helper.

A great deal of this individualized helping is a matter of forming dependency relationships. Over time, the helping person takes on obligations. This goes for the good neighbor who routinely shovels the snow from neighbor ladies' sidewalks; for Marcia, with her list of shut-ins whom she feels must be visited from time to time; for the person (such as Marcia again) who cares for dependent relatives; and for the helping person who can be relied on to step forward in situations of need, who over time tends to accumulate "orphans." (A character in Tennessee Williams' The Glass Menagerie speaks of always having counted on the kindness of strangers.)

Even within the family: being the nurturer, the giver, the unselfish good sport, can be construed as a matter of social position. The altruist gravitates to this role; other family members come to expect it.

COMMUNITY SIZE AND VOLUNTEERING

A place to start, in considering social position and group-anchoring, is the community itself. First of all (as mentioned before) extremely small communities seem to support good-neighboring. Certain larger towns, with populations of several thousand, display another pattern. This, too, is merely my impression; and it holds for Nova Scotian towns. I don't know about this for the United States, or for the rest of Canada. These towns appear to be strong in civic spirit. Families tend to know each other, or at least know about each other. The older families have traditions of giving to their churches and to other local causes and groups. (This would be more true for the "leading families", probably less true for poor people.) Girls, especially, get socialized into this, helping with church suppers and pantry sales. Youth organizations in these towns seem to be apprenticing to adult community service. (Scouts and Girl Guides, Canadian Girls in Training, Red Cross Youth, Allied Youth, Leo, church youth groups.) It seems to be the natural thing to do, to be swept along into involvements in community affairs. This is where much of the "action" is: the interest and news and gossip (which the small-town people seem so attuned to). Adults go on, in community-leader roles, joined in cooperation (and in conflict) with other long-term community leaders and volunteers.

I would imagine this pattern to be present, but weaker, in more transient communities--for example in Western Canada, as compared with Nova Scotia in which families have stayed in their towns over the generations. In cities, I would imagine it to be present as a minor theme. Marcia, with her sense of carrying on a family tradition in her church, and her long-term collegial relationships with other public spirited citizens, perhaps represents some trace of this, for Evansville.

Another network, which overlaps the "leading families" network, and blends to a lesser extent with the sort of volunteer-group which Marcia represents, is the community-involved businessmen. These are the "Main Street boosters," the Kiwanians and Rotarians and JCs and Kinsmen--professional and managerial people, as well as businessmen, who belong to the service clubs. They tend to take the lead in the voluntary sector--sitting on boards of directors, organizing money-raising drives. Although this group is very important, and some of these people are very active--how many altruists are there among them? Who can say? Ulterior motives of community leaders and businessman-boosters is a large subject, which I will try to deal with later. For now I would only say: undoubtedly their motives are mixed, with considerations of career-building, getting publicity, making contacts, and seeking prestige playing some

part. Various social pressures must be involved. (It is said, for example, that businesses will "send" their people to volunteer for this project and that.) Nevertheless, sincere concern enters in as well. The balance, between genuine concern and ulterior motives must vary, from one of these persons to the next. I would guess that once such people had become drawn into working on charitable causes, they would come to care about them and want them to succeed; and often, I'm sure, they work hard. Furthermore, people like Colin have crowded volunteer-careers, in which they also do humble work (such as Colin's Big Brother job) which could hardly help with contacts or prestige. My guess is: some of these persons, such as Colin, have bona fide altruistic tendencies to begin with; these then find expression, and are further developed, in the roles they come to play as community-active businessmen.

Finally, I would assume that group-anchoring plays some part in their community work; the service clubs encourage them to volunteer; and they tend to fall under the influence of other persons whom they meet in the course of their volunteering. No doubt the workings of all this is complex, with one town or city differing from the next. We do not know very much about it. One only hears isolated stories.

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ENCOURAGE VOLUNTEERING

Reader: I am not ready to write the rest of this up yet. I will start this by mentioning the service clubs and the church, which I think act as springboards to other volunteer work. Then I will do the example of the Sierra Club and the conservationist network in Tallahassee. Then Junior League in Halifax.

IDEOLOGY

We can get very little information on this; it is conjectural. And the example of others. Father John and his reference group, the social-action priests. Jim: "to know Jesus Christ is to want to serve him." --long-term orientation to sustain one, working over the years for causes of sometimes doubtful value. Bob K.: the example of others, in the formation of a service-oriented career. What the do-gooder says to himself.

And in some sequence:

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION OF VOLUNTEER WORK

National offices, cities' voluntary action centers and what they do, volunteer coordinators, recognition awards, Volunteer of the Year. Example of Tallahassee. Cynical interpretation of how civic work is "orchestrated" by Evansville businesses and businessmen.

STRATEGIC PROBLEMS FOR THE VOLUNTEER

Since much volunteer work is of dubious value--both for any serious cause, and for one's own welfare perhaps--and since volunteers are forced ultimately to prioritize, as they cannot do everything they are asked to do, and since their volunteer careers can take varying directions depending on decisions they make, the question arises: how to avoid pouring one's time and effort into a bottomless pit? What are the best bets, from among the things one might do? In what roles, groups, causes, is there the best fit between the demands, and what I personally have to offer? What would be the most congenial for me?

I really do not know how people make decisions here, or how they find their way into the particular combination of volunteer duties that they carry. I suspect that strategy has little to do with it. People occasionally may decide they can't take on anything more for awhile; or they resist efforts to draw them into work for purely social, or frivolrous, causes, feeling they have to make their efforts count for serious causes. But I don't know.

I should give many examples of causes, projects, groups, and particular duties and events for these groups, which are marginal with respect to worthwhileness--purely "social," or perhaps useless, or seeming to be ineffective. The Lives of Service people are doing a lot of this. As with Colin's ski club. And of course once you get drawn into a serious group or cause - such as the church or the Sierra Club - then you get drawn into endless, derivative, work for social events which are supposedly in the interests of the group or longtime serious goals: baking for socials, organizing socials, selling tickets and so on. Doing PR. Not to mention sitting in endless meetings which sometimes do not seem to be going anywhere. Perhaps the L of S people could have spent their time a lot more efficiently. If you get in the habit of saying "yes", you can get diverted into endless bypaths such as these. However in the long term, it seems to add up to self-fulfillment and admiration for them. And they probably think a lot of this is fun. It probably fulfills various needs--group belonging, regularly touching base with their fellows, and so on. Also they do so much that, looking at their volunteer careers over time, they probably do "make a difference," make their efforts felt--even with what often seems like a scatter-shot approach.

HOW SOCIETY NEEDS AND PRODUCES VOLUNTEERS; & HISTORICAL CHANGES.

Somewhere in here I should put a statement about society's need to have certain roles filled in the voluntary sector. Somebody has to do it; even though most of us can sit on the sidelines. The quality of civic leadership--overlapping with political leadership--does make a difference: how competent the leaders are, how dedicated; refer to Ed Wynne's historical article on training youth to be leaders; perhaps to my statement

(1985) on how leadership training in youth groups seems to be looking ahead to civic leadership; how it seems less connnected to on-the-job administrative careers, which is a separate stream; and how it seems rather far removed from higher-level political leadership. Also Ed Wynne on how it is problematic, how well these roles are going to be filled; and his Character (number one) article marshalling evidence for a falling-off of service ethic, traditional group allegiances, and unselfishness among youth.

Quality of leadership, then, in the voluntary sector, makes a difference. The other modes of altruism must have some social impact too: good-neighbouring, on-the-job, within the family, and so on. Whereas the Lives of Service people represent an extreme group, others of us exhibit these generous tendencies to some lesser degree. In the aggregate, all of this must add up to something, and affect overall quality of life.

So: there is a social need for this; there is some minimal requirement, roles that must be filled by volunteers; and overall helping tendencies in a population must affect quality of life. As society "needs" altruists, so society produces them. This must depend, ultimately, on underlying social conditions. Size and type of community makes a difference. (Good-neighboring in rural communities.) Social Class makes a difference. ("Leading families" and businessmen grativating toward the boards of directors and committee chairmanships, in the voluntary sector.)

Historical trends are involved. Certain social supports for volunteer work seem to be on the increase. (The voluntary action centres, tied into national offices,seem to be of fairly recent origin. /?any references?/ & Volunteer of the Year -- this entire "community organization of volunteer work" with recognition awards and arrangements for training volunteers,and training groups in the employment of volunteers.) Likewise, the post-World War Two growth of youth organizations has meant more leadership training for teenagers, and more early chances to volunteer. (Stephens 1985).

Other historic sources of altruistic and helping tendencies,in the population, are on the wane. (For the childhood antecedents: it is harder now to train kids to be helpers within the home. Increasing urban population; decreasing rural and farm population; smaller families with fewer children. Modern labor-savers within the home eliminate much of the need for children's help.) (Stephens 1979)

The church might be mentioned: bulwark of traditional values and allegiances (which seem to be tied to community spirit and volunteering); an organizer of, and springboard for, volunteering and community work; Christian doctrine, figuring in what people say to themselves, at the times they are called on; and the empirical fact that so many people in the sample were strong church workers, who stayed with their religious upbringing.

There is also the possibility that this reflects, in part, a biased sample loaded towards small towns and Nova Scotia. We have one woman in the sample who lives in San Francisco, and she is very different. There may be other, non-traditional, altruistic subcultures and networks out there, in places like California, which I have little idea of. I think this is quite likely. What their numerical importance is, I don't know. However I suspect that when it comes to volunteer work -- especially leadership and office-holding in the voluntary sector -- a high percentage of these people would be pretty traditional in value-orientations and institutional ties. But another, better, sample should be drawn sometime; it would be interesting to see.

Final point on social bases for altruism, and historical trends. Bronfenbrenner (1972) was shown a deliberate program in the Soviet Union, to instill a sense of social responsibility and willingness to sacrifice for the group. This introduces the large subject of cultural differences; and the other large subject of possible programs initiated by the State: a National Youth Service, and so on. (Wynne 1977) (DeMott 1978) (Coleman 1973)

Other topics which remain to be developed in the future:

INCENTIVES: WHY DO THEY DO IT? **REALLY?**

Various topics could go here:

-A long cataloguing of various incentives and rewards, for different kinds of volunteers and other helping persons, in numerous different kinds of situations. Included would be the society-page sort of thing, recognition, power, being an insider, all the incentives which appeal, not to altruistic motivation, but to baser motives -- which inevitably must get tangled up in helping efforts of all kinds, and which certainly seem to be prominent in many kinds of volunteer work in organizations and on committees. This inferring of motives and incentives is speculative of course; and to separate this off from the antecedents is at times a bit artificial.

Related to this, is a cataloguing of reasons why some persons are repelled by the voluntary sector, or -- having been active -- leave in a huff: factional conflicts and feuds within the groups; egoistic and power- and recognition-striving.

Another topic: within Psychology there has been a long and rather pointless (it seems to me) philosophic discussion about the roots of altruism. Is homo sapiens innately altruistic in certain situations? Laying down his life for the sake of his genes perhaps? Or is he innately selfish? Is there always something in it for him? (Power, gratitude, gold stars, love, the martyr's gratification, whatever.) This should be mentioned,

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disposed of briefly, and references cited. (Perry and Staub and Sigelman, of the references here.) Related topic: psychological writings on "norms" -- bases for moral judgements -- which evidently can influence what people would say to themselves at a decision-point--on the verge of offering help. (Sigelman 1984:227-230) (Perry and Bussey 1984:252-255) And this winds back again to tie into ideology, especially Christian doctrine, as the backdrop to what people say to themselves at this critical juncture. This is a topic I have found difficult to get at with questioning. Some persons give platitudes and homilies. Others respond with resistance and no real answer at all. A few say things which are interesting, of suggestive value; and one is left to speculate.

A little bit of Altruism.

What the Lives of Service sample is, is an all-star cast. We lesser mortals--with weaker tendencies toward helping and giving--how about us? If altruism is in fact a continuum, a matter of degree, how about those of us toward the middle of the scale; not at the absolute top, like Marcia and Colin and their colleagues? (Actually, as mentioned toward the beginning, I'm afraid under the heading altruism we have put numerous continua, many things, a melange, a confusion; I think there is no avoiding this. Nevertheless, of the different styles of giving and helping: some of us are a little bit this way, but not extremely so.)

The various predicters of altruism; the list of antecedents and causes that I went through: do these hold equally true, for lesser degrees of altruism?

-I really don't know, since we have no sample of people of this kind. I would imagine that they would, however. Social position, life-history periods and events, living alone, high-energy, being a worker; being a church member; the childhood antecedents from the literature: I would think that all these would also predispose toward altruism of lesser degree. Perhaps some day we will have a study which includes persons of this kind.

Altruism on the job.

This is a large and complex subject which would have to be developed at great length. Just a few brief points here:

Some occupations offer a springboard for getting involved, working for causes outside the job. The clergy seems to be an example of this. Altrustic efforts on-the-job can be subdivided into: working for policy changes, working for good causes; and individualized helping of other persons (mentoring, etc.).

It seems a matter of opportunity. Some jobs offer no opportunity, other than to be "nice" to the people around you. (Cleaning lady, for example.) Power positions obviously offer

more opportunity. Within our bureaucracies where most of us work, in our institutionally-structured careers, there must be numerous frustrations of the giving impulse; and diversions,even perversions, of idealism and good intentions. For some persons, the opportunity to be an effective helper, on-the-job, is tantalizingly barely beyond reach. One person in the sample, a social worker, had finally resigned herself to being a mere functionary. She was conscientious, worked hard, was "nice" to people. But it was outside the job, after the day was over, when she discharged her great altruistic energies. For myself, in my role as teacher, I do not quite have the leverage to be an effective mentor. (I do not teach graduate students; I'm not involved in professional training; I cannot get students jobs; I'm rarely on thesis committees.) About all I can do, is be "nice". For the other possibility, working on committees for policy changes one cares about: here, over time, there will be the occasional successes (or perhaps one should say, apparent successes, or partial or marginal successes); there is a bit more hope; but much of this too, of course, is a matter of frustrated efforts,near-and-yet-so-far.

On the other hand, I know of a few brilliant examples: persons who re-tailored their jobs, turning them into an outlet for altruism. One lady in the sample was moved to the country, away from the city where she had had her volunteer career. She became the proprietress of a general store: perfect, for being the super-good-neighbour of the area. A second lady in the sample, who was a social worker with a long history of volunteer work, became drawn into the Kubler-Ross death-and-dying movement. She finally took a low-paying part-time job as a pastoral care worker in a hospital. She developed this half-time job, into a one-and-a-half-time involvement with (predominately) dying patients and their families. She takes persons into her home. She participates in workshops, speaks before groups, goes to conferences, takes courses; all this, parts of her involvement in the death-and-dying movement.

I know a third lady who was not in the Lives of Service sample, although she certainly could qualify for it. She is a successful writer, a former professor. As a professor she had had mentoring relationships with graduate students. Now, operating outside the university, she has invented numerous individualized helping relationships, in which she is the employer, or the senior author in a joint venture, or the patroness. The original model for these is, I think, the professor serving as mentor to a graduate student. But now, freed from the university's rules and procedures, she has used her imagination to adapt this to a variety of new roles.

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